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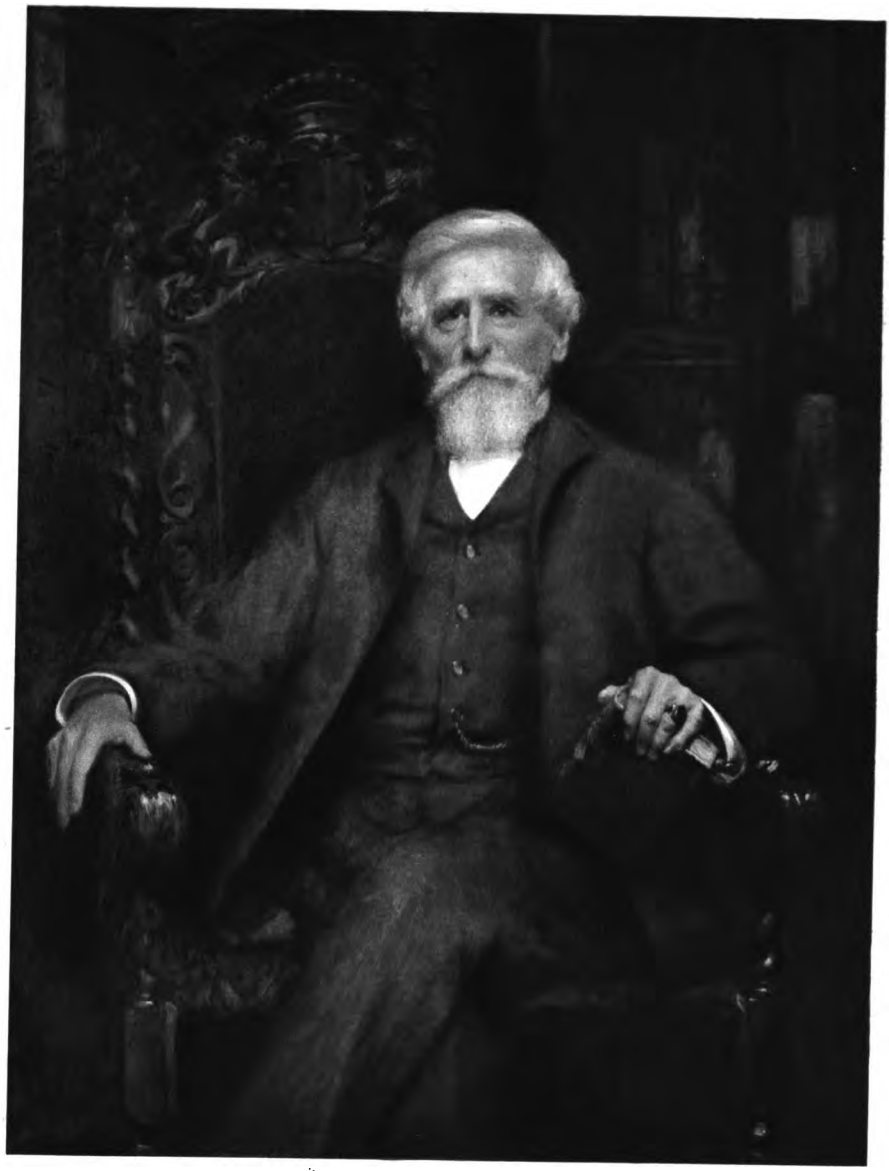

Henry Lee.

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HENRY CHARLES LEA

1825-1909

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PRELIMINARY MEMOIR.

HENRY CHARLES LEA was born in Philadelphia September 19, 1825. He was a descendant in the sixth generation from John Lea, a member of the Society of Friends, who accompanied William Penn on his second visit to America in 1699. John Lea was a descendant in the seventh generation from John Lygh, of Chippenham, County Wilts, England, who died there in 1503. Mr. Lea's maternal grandfather, Mathew Carey, was prosecuted for his boldness in advocating in his newspaper the cause of Ireland, and came from Dublin to America in 1784, founding in 1785 the publishing house now carried on by his descendants in the fourth generation under the firm name of Lea & Febiger. His father, Isaac Lea, was a distinguished naturalist. His uncle, Henry C. Carey, political economist and publicist, was the well known advocate of the principle of protection to home industry, which has been a vital factor in promoting the unparalleled development of American manufacturing. Mr. Lea was educated at home, under teachers, never at school or college. He entered his father's publishing house in January, 1843, became partner in 1851, carried on the business alone from 1865 to 1880, and then retired.

Mr. Lea married, on May 27, 1850, Anna Caroline, daughter of William Latta Jaudon, of Huguenot ancestry.

LITERARY WORK. *Superstition and Force: Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture.* First edition, 1866; second edition, 1870; third edition, 1878; fourth edition, 1892. An Italian translation will shortly appear.

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Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy. First edition, 1867; second edition, 1884; third edition, in two volumes, octavo, 1907 (London reprint).

Studies in Church History: The Rise of the Temporal Power, Benefit of Clergy, Excommunication, The Early Church and Slavery. First edition, 1869; second edition, 1883.

Translations and Other Rhymes. Privately printed, 1882.

A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages. Three volumes, octavo, 1888. French translation by M. Salomon Reinach, Paris, 1900.[1] A German translation, of which two volumes have appeared, will shortly be completed by the eminent scholars Joseph Hansen, of Cologne, and Herrmann Haupt, of Giessen. An Italian translation is in course of publication.

Chapters from the Religious History of Spain Connected with the Inquisition, 1890.

A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century, 1892.

A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences. Three volumes, octavo, 1896.

The Moriscos of Spain, their Conversion and Expulsion, 1901.

A History of the Inquisition of Spain. Four volumes, octavo, 1906–1907. A German translation, abridged, is in preparation.

The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies. One volume, octavo, 1908.

Besides these more extended works, Mr. Lea contributed many shorter studies and separate articles to historical and other journals.

The salient characteristic of Mr. Lea's historical work is the absence of bias. He respected every man's right to his own

[1] It is worthy of note that this translation was circulated in France by the Government as an aid in the recent momentous struggle resulting in the separation of Church and State in that country. The power of American scholarship has had no more striking recognition than in this instance of its influence in the affairs of the Old World.

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religious views, and particularly avoided anything in the nature of proselyting.[1] He held no brief for or against any creed, and no reader of his pages can discover therefrom whether he was Catholic or Protestant. The scales of fairness could not be tried by any more conclusive test. He was solely concerned with the truth, and in its ascertainment he set aside any works of opinion, going directly to the records of the time. From these original and incontrovertible sources he drew comprehensive material, illuminated the facts with profound learning, and both by setting them in effective juxtaposition and by pointing out their reasonable interpretation he carried conviction to all candid minds. In weighing evidence he trained his mind to the finest balance. His historical method was developed with scientific exactitude. He possessed the genius of taking infinite pains, no effort being too great for his industry in ascertaining all the facts bearing on a subject or in setting them forth instructively. His method of work required more than double writing in creating the finished manuscript. The first step was an exhaustive reading of everything relating to the subject in hand.[2] His reflections were set down, with copious notes and bibliographical references, all

[1] In conceding the right to translate his *Inquisition of the Middle Ages* into Italian, Mr. Lea wrote to Professor Domenico Battaini: "I have never sought to influence the religious beliefs of others, but I have always been inspired with the desire to ascertain and set forth impartially the absolute facts of history and let them teach their own lessons."

[2] Any treatment of these subjects which was to be anything but superficial and temporary involved years of labor in the great folio collections of law and theology, in out-of-the-way tracts and pamphlets, and in the libraries and archives of every part of Europe. From this life of patient toil Mr. Lea never shrank. This self-made scholar set himself to attack some of the hardest problems of the world's history, whose difficulties were to prove the measure of his success. From the outset he formed the habit of going directly to the original sources. His most mature work was the *History of the Inquisition of Spain*. The subject is intricate and thorny, the materials were for the most part unprinted and uncalendared, and except for certain publications of the author, scarcely anything had been done in the way of preliminary exploration or monographic investigation. Under such conditions the historian was obliged to be quarryman as well as architect, and the four solid volumes which he produced were fashioned out of the solid rock of original documents.—*Tribute to Henry Charles Lea, Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, December, 1909. See also footnote, page 10.

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systematically arranged in provisional chapters, with subheadings, and marginal indexes. Thus the scattered parts of each subject were brought into rational connection, and the development of events was traced from cause to effect, perhaps centuries apart. In this organization of material from the evolutionary point of view, which is one of the main distinctions between the modern science of history and the narratives of early writers, Mr. Lea was an acknowledged master. The preliminary manuscript when completed brought the whole of each topic before his mind, and it was then entirely rewritten and greatly condensed. Mr. Lea held that only the author could properly index a book, and he bestowed no less care on this important instrument than upon the text itself. His workmanship was complete, everything else being subordinate to this. Time was never considered nor was it ever wasted. Labor instead of being a curse was one of life's great blessings. Asked if he really enjoyed what appeared to others to be unremitting drudgery, he replied that there was no pleasure equal to it. Intellectual absorption was happiness to him. He neglected exercise until after his second breakdown, at fifty-five years of age, and thereafter rebuilt his shattered health to greater stability than before. He walked just enough to keep himself in working order. His mornings sufficed for this and for attention to his affairs, which were increased rather than decreased on his retirement from business as a publisher. His afternoons and evenings until midnight were free for study and writing, and were so employed with interruptions only at meal times. Every day in the year was time, time was life and life was opportunity not to be wasted. He characteristically remarked that it would be wrong to do on any day of the week what it would be wrong to do on Sunday.

Mr. Lea early formed the project of making the history of the Inquisition the great object of his life's work, and his volumes which preceded it were the outcome of preparatory studies thereto. Perhaps it would be more accurate to call them collateral subjects

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which developed naturally out of his reading and lay at hand readily in the form of preliminary manuscript described in the preceding paragraph. He appreciated brevity, and finding that the vast subject of the Inquisition, even when disembarrassed of its collaterals, could not be comprised in a few volumes, he divided it according to natural lines of cleavage into the Inquisition of the Middle Ages or the Pre-Reformation period, and the Inquisition of Spain, beginning with the Reformation. Discovering that this concluding portion had exceeded his ideas of space, and that his finished manuscript, representing ten years of labor, would make nearly three thousand printed pages, he withheld it from press, and completely rewrote the six thousand pages of manuscript with his own pen, condensing, adding new material, and finally getting it into a form answering his requirements, satisfied that with this vast labor he had improved it and reduced it by some four hundred pages of print. When he determined to undertake this immense task he was eighty years old, and ran great risk that he might not live to see the chief object of a lifetime of study accomplished. Nothing deterred him from placing the quality of his work above every other consideration.

While Mr. Lea's labors were largely directed to subjects which for centuries have been the object of acrimonious debate, he endeavored to treat them with the impartiality and strict adherence to fact of the scientific historian. That he succeeded in this may be assumed from the verdict of Lord Acton, himself an earnest Catholic, in a searching review of the *Inquisition of the Middle Ages.*[1] In this Acton says: "His information is comprehensive, minute, exact and everywhere sufficient, if not everywhere complete. In this astonishing press of digested facts there is barely space to discuss the ideas which they exhibit and the law which they obey;" and the review concludes by saying: "But the vital points are protected by a panoply of mail. From the Albigensian

[1] *English Historical Review*, 1888.

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Crusade to the Fall of the Templars and to that Franciscan movement wherein the key to Dante lies, the design and organization, the activity and decline of the Inquisition constitute a sound and solid structure that will survive the censure of all critics." Another eminent scholar, the late Frederic W. Maitland, Professor of Law in the University of Cambridge, and the greatest writer on the history of law that the English-speaking world has produced, concluded a review of the same work with a similar appreciation: "It is Dr. Lea's glory that he is one of the very few English-speaking men who have had the courage to grapple with the law and legal documents of Continental Europe. He has looked at them with the naked eye instead of seeing them—a much easier task—through German spectacles. We trust him thoroughly because he keeps his gaze fixed on the middle ages, and never looks around for opinions to be refuted or quarrels to be picked. This is not the policy that we could recommend to any but a strong man. Dr. Lea, however, is strong, and sober and wary." [1] In the *Life and Letters of Bishop Creighton*, a great English historian, there are frequent references to Mr. Lea. The biographer, Mrs. Creighton, writes: "He had much correspondence with Mr. H. C. Lea, who helped him in establishing and editing the *English Historical Review*, both with contributions and suggestions. At Philadelphia he had the pleasure of making his personal acquaintance." In a letter to Mr. Lea, Bishop Creighton wrote: "I have been reading your book with increasing admiration for its thoroughness. It is the only one in English which is an indispensable introduction to the study of the Inquisition." To another correspondent the Bishop wrote: "We shall shortly know all that can be known about indulgences. Mr. Lea is bringing out a book on the subject. He knows most of any living man about the institutes of the mediæval Church." Like Mr. Lea, Bishop Creighton wrote history with a view to the establishment of the truth on controverted facts, and not to sustain preconceived conclusions or opinions. No man was better qualified than Bishop

[1] *English Historical Review*, viii, 755.

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Creighton to gauge the real value of Mr. Lea's works, and to express an opinion of their interest and importance. Such a tribute from one historian to another working in the same field may well be looked on as the highest praise a sound scholar can have as his reward. That his works have also won the approbation of scholars on the Continent of Europe may be gathered from the opening remarks in an extended notice of his last book in the *Jewish Quarterly Review* for April, 1908: "It is the fashion in American universities to give their professors a Sabbatical year—one year of rest in every seven. A Harvard Don spent his year in travelling through Europe. Wherever he went he was deluged with inquiries as to Lea, the historian of the Inquisition, and when he came to Spain he was assured that the one American whom the Spaniards wished to welcome was Dr. Lea."

Yet Mr. Lea's earliest efforts lay in an entirely different direction. The example of his father's successful labors in natural history turned his youthful attention to science. Two seasons in the chemical laboratory of Booth and Boyé led to investigations which produced his first venture in print—a paper on the salts of manganese, written about the age of thirteen and published in Silliman's Journal. This was followed after some interval by several papers on descriptive conchology, illustrated with plates from his own drawings from nature, which appeared in the same Journal, in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society and the Proceedings of the Academy of Natural Sciences. The nervous exhaustion superinduced in 1847 by the endeavor to combine study with active attention to business brought ten years of enforced intellectual leisure, during which he amused himself with the multitudinous array of French memoir writers from the age of Louis XIV back to the chroniclers—Froissart, the Réligieux de S. Dénis and Villehardouin. His interest being thus aroused in mediæval history, when he found himself gradually able to resume serious work, in the fragmentary intervals allowed by business pressure, he speedily recognized that the only safe basis for historical study was to disregard

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all secondary authorities and rely solely on the original sources. At that time there were no collections here on which the student could rely for serious study, nor were there any scholars to whom he could look for guidance in the paths which he desired to follow. As a solitary student he was obliged to collect around him the necessary material,[1] and the mere acquisition of the knowledge of the bibliography of the subjects to be investigated was a task of no little labor—often fruitless. The habit thus induced of solitary independent labor became chronic, and he never even employed a secretary or an amanuensis, or acquired the faculty of dictation, but wrote every word with his own pen.

He early recognized that the laws and institutions of a nation or a period were the surest guide to a proper comprehension of its history, and he sought to surround himself with all accessible mediæval codes and customaries. He was thus led to take an interest in institutions, rather than in what is known as drum and trumpet history. Finding, moreover, that wherever his researches led him the Church rose up as an essential factor, his attention became largely directed to it in its relations not so much to theology as to the internal life and exterior policies of the nations. It is thus

[1] Dr. Lea's studies covered the whole series of Christian centuries. Over their whole stretch he gathered a great library dealing with the institutions and practices on which he wrote histories which will be read as long as men desire information, knowledge and an authoritative, impartial judgment on the history of the Inquisition, ecclesiastical courts, and their jurisdiction, celibacy and absolution. These subjects root in their origins in the very beginnings of organized Christianity. Seeking no other library, gathering all under his own roof, Dr. Lea acquired original documents on a scale incredible to those who do not know how the whirlwinds of revolution have scattered clerical archives. He had for years his agents copying records over Europe. For nearly half a century he was buying every printed paper, document and book that appeared on his topics. No such collection exists the world over. No great European library gives so complete a view of this great topic. Over a stretch of centuries this library holds the archives of organized Christianity in the mediæval period, and in Spain and adjacent lands to the present time. This vast treasure will be the mine in which grateful students and investigators will work for years to come, remembering daily a man wise enough to gather this great store and generous enough to leave it for others, a perpetual aid and incentive to research. The library which he has left to the University of Pennsylvania is a monument to his memory scarcely less lasting and imposing than his histories.—*Philadelphia Press.*

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that while his first volume, *Superstition and Force*, is confined to the legal methods adopted to discover the truth in disputed questions, his later ones were more and more directed to those institutions in which ecclesiastical influence has moulded the civilization of Christendom. Unable through pressing engagements to enjoy a prolonged absence in Europe, he employed copyists in the principal libraries to reproduce unpublished documents, and in this way he accumulated an immense mass of manuscript material bearing on his special subjects of interest. His sources were further enriched by the privilege granted him by the University of Oxford, in full convocation, to have dispatched to him in Philadelphia any manuscripts he might desire from the Bodleian Library.

His major works and his frequent smaller contributions on collateral subjects brought him into correspondence with the leading historical scholars of America and Europe. Lord Acton invited him to write the chapter on the Eve of the Reformation in the *Cambridge Modern History*. At the request of Mr. James Bryce, Mr. Lea contributed the chapter on the Philadelphia Gas Trust in *The American Commonwealth*, and a long personal correspondence and friendship existed between them, both before and after Mr. Bryce became the British Ambassador at Washington. Mr. Lea's many exchanges of letters with Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, the historian, are mentioned in the *Memoir of Mr. Lecky* by his wife. Mr. George Neilson, of Glasgow, whose book on *Trial by Combat* brought him into contact with Mr. Lea, was another valued correspondent, and likewise Mr. A. H. Mathew, of London, who issued the reprint of *Sacerdotal Celibacy*, with the author's revisions. On the Continent of Europe translations of several of Mr. Lea's works into various languages brought him into relations with the leading mediævalists. The influence of M. Salomon Reinach's translation of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* upon momentous political issues in France has been already mentioned. Outside of Paris, Professor Paul Sabatier,

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of Chantegrillet, and Professor Charles Molinier, of Toulouse, were among the French scholars who appreciated his works. In Germany the translation of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages* by Professor Joseph Hansen, of Cologne, and Professor Herrmann Haupt, of Giessen, led to many exchanges of letters, and likewise with Dr. P. Müllendorff, of Cologne, who has in hand translations of several others of Mr. Lea's works. A warm friendship existed with Dr. Döllinger, the noted founder of the "Old Catholic" movement. Professor E. Schäfer, of Leipzig, was another German correspondent, and in Belgium Professor Paul Fredericq, of Ghent, and Professor Eugène Hubert, of Liège. In Switzerland Dr. Domenico Battaini, of Mendrisio, is contributing to the cause of intellectual independence by authorized translations of *The Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, and of certain of Mr. Lea's other works, into Italian. Professor G. Montet, of the University of Geneva, was a long-time correspondent and friend. The eminent Italian historians, Count Ugo Balzani, of Rome, and Professor Pasquale Villari, of Florence, showed in their letters a deep appreciation of his works, and in Spain, Señor D. Vicente Vignau y Ballester, of the Archivo Histórico Nacional, in Madrid, gave valuable assistance in securing copies of many of the manuscript materials that Mr. Lea used in his work. Among contemporary American students of mediæval history there are few who did not come into personal contact with Mr. Lea, either by visits to him or through correspondence. His work was so completely individual and unassisted, and he followed so consistently the habit of gathering all his own material and making all his own inferences from it, that few of these colleagues ever had the pleasure of sharing to any extent in his studies until they had been published, and then only as readers. On the other hand, Mr. Lea's appreciation of his fellow workers is indicated by the closing words of his address as President of the American Historical Association in 1903:

"As one of the last survivors of a past generation, whose career is rapidly nearing its end, in bidding you farewell I may perhaps be

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permitted to express the gratification with which, during nearly half a century, I have watched the development of historical work among us in the adoption of scientific methods. Year after year I have marked with growing pleasure the evidence of thorough and earnest research on the part of a constantly increasing circle of well-trained scholars who have no cause to shun comparison with those of the older hemisphere. In such hands the future of the American school of history is safe, and we can look forward with assurance to the honored position which it will assume in the literature of the world."

Mr. Lea's great versatility is shown in his early researches in chemistry, his simultaneous familiarity with other branches of science, such as botany and conchology, his subsequent interest in mediæval French history, which marked his transition into the field of his life's chief work, his union of study with exacting business for thirty-eight years and with scarcely less financial activity until the end of his life, his patriotic service to the Government throughout the Civil War, and his strenuous labors for municipal reform thereafter. His devotion to letters was an early development. With the best English literature, both prose and verse, he was thoroughly familiar as a youth. To the acquirement of a clear literary style he devoted painstaking care. A self-prescribed exercise, both difficult and effective, was the reading of an essay of Addison, which was then rewritten from memory, the two being afterward closely compared to disclose his own literary faults. He was also facile in verse, but published only one volume of this kind. As a linguist he mastered every tongue he found necessary in the course of his studies. In youth he was a thorough Greek scholar, Latin he knew in all its forms, classical and mediæval, French was almost as familiar as English, the various languages of Spain were of course indispensable in his reading, likewise Portuguese and Italian. To these he added sufficient knowledge of Hebrew and Sanscrit for his purpose. German he learned at sixty, and Dutch at eighty. He was a student for seventy years, and a man of affairs

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for sixty-seven.[1] An iron constitution was kept worked to its limit, or, to be more accurate, constantly overworked. For the ills of the body, as well as for the cares and trials of life, his sovereign panacea was work, absorption in study filling every hour not devoted to some duty. He never wasted "odd minutes." His nervous breakdown at the age of twenty-two left him always subject to much ill health, and his strength for ten years was barely sufficient for very close attention to business. Then followed a quarter of a century of intense activity in affairs, historical study and writing, and public service, which superinduced a similar attack so serious as to threaten a fatal result. With care and systematic exercise he recovered in four years, during which he amused himself with poetry in various languages, publishing in 1882 a small volume of translations and original verse. His belief in the rightful mastery of the mind over the body is shown in his industry, which never flagged except when work was prohibited. For sixty-five years he spent no single day in bed.

His remarkable foresight and his powerful memory are illustrated at once by the following incident: At the outbreak of the war between the United States and Spain, the editor of the *Atlantic Monthly* wrote

[1] His life was as different from the common run as his work was superior to the ordinary literary output. The head of an important business concern, he found no difficulty in leading a laborious life devoted to intellectual pursuits. In making himself master, and one of the world's greatest authorities, in a large field of historical research, he was continuing one of the most pleasing of English and American traditions, that of the man of wealth and business who is also a scholar or literary man of real merit and significance. Indeed, few examples of this type can rank with Mr. Lea in distinction. His *Inquisition* was justly pronounced "a most valuable and imposing contribution to our literature," and this result is not to be explained merely by the ability of the author, but also by the fact that for thirty years he had been engaged in constant study of subjects belonging to its domain. It would be difficult to name any living writer who has done so much to maintain our country's rank in historical research or historical writing. One of the lessons of Mr. Lea's career is that there are still great results which can be achieved by individuals unconnected with any organization for the systematic production of learning. While his interest was so largely absorbed by a subject very remote from the doings of today, Mr. Lea did not fail to bear his part as a citizen.—*New York Evening Post.*

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asking him for an article on the fundamental causes of the conflict. Mr. Lea happened to be away from home and from all sources of information. His article, entitled "The Decadence of Spain," was published in the issue for July, 1898. When asked how he happened to be able to write such a paper apparently offhand, he replied that about twenty years before he had concluded that an eventual war between the two countries was inevitable, and that the history of the Catholic Church in the Philippines would throw an instructive side light on the causes which would lead to it. He procured a work in many volumes written by the Spanish friars, read it and laid it aside. Coming from the Church itself the disclosures of such a work could not be disavowed. The recollection of this work, added to his knowledge of the ecclesiastical history of Spain and of Spanish character, enabled him to deal with the causes of the war from their roots, centuries deep in the mother country as well as in its dependencies.

ACADEMIC HONORS. LL.D. of the Universities of Harvard, Pennsylvania and Princeton. Doctor of Theology of the University of Giessen. Fellow of the Imperial University of Moscow.

LEARNED SOCIETIES. Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of Bavaria, Member of the Comenius-Gesellschaft, Berlin, Foreign Member of the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, Member of the Societa Internazionale di Studi Francescani in Assisi, Member of the Reale Societa Romana della Storia Patria, Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy,[1] Member of the Royal Society of Arts, London, Member of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, Corresponding Member of the Jewish Historical Society of England. President, in 1903, of the American Historical Association. Member of the American Academy of Arts and

[1] In a letter to a member of Mr. Lea's family the Honorable James Bryce, British Ambassador, wrote: "I need hardly tell you that the Foreign Membership of the British Academy is the highest honor that we in England have to bestow upon a historian or philologist or philosopher belonging to another country."

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Letters, of the American Philosophical Society, of the Massachusetts Historical Society; Vice-President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society; Associate Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences; Member of the New York Historical Society, of the American Antiquarian Society, of the American Oriental Society, of the National Institute of Arts and Letters, of the American Folk Lore Society, of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, of the American Society of Church History, of the American Academy of Literature and Art, of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, of the German-American Historical Society, of the American Statistical Association, of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia, of the American Dante Society, of the Archæological Institute of America, of the University Archæological Association.

Entitled both by lineage and personality to the entrée of the most socially conservative city in America, Mr. Lea was genial as a host, though finding scant time in the pressure of his mature years for such pleasures. From the date of its revival in 1886 until his death in 1909 he was Dean of the Wistar Association, succeeding his father, Dr. Isaac Lea, in that position. This historic social organization of Philadelphia was founded in 1799, but rendered temporarily inactive by the overwhelming anxieties of the Civil War. During this period Mr. Lea was active in the Union Club, out of which grew the Union League, and later in the Saturday Club, and in the Fortnightly Club, which succeeded. In its organization as well as in its tradition the Fortnightly followed the lines of the Wistar Association, the members being chosen with a view to securing representatives of the intellectual and scientific life of the city. After two years of successful existence it was felt that it approached so nearly in design and details to the suspended Wistar Party that it might properly undertake a reorganization thereof. The sole survivors were Mr. Moncure Robinson and Dr. Isaac Lea, then in his

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ninety-fifth year, who had been the Dean since 1842. By concurrent action the necessary steps were taken. In the minutes of the reorganization meeting is recorded the feeling that thus adapted to the social needs of the present day the "Wistar Party worthily upholds the traditions which it has inherited, and that a strict adherence to the simplicity prescribed in its rules and solicitude in gathering at its receptions all that is best in the intellectual activity of Philadelphia will enable its members to hand down to their successors in the long future an institution which has made a contribution to the fair repute which the city of its birth so deservedly enjoys."

PUBLIC ACTIVITY. As was the case with so many others, the Civil War aroused Mr. Lea to a sense of the duty owed by the citizen to the State. He was one of the early members of the Union League of Philadelphia, before its formal organization, and contributed energetically in the work by which it acquired its influence, as a member of its Military Committee and Board of Publication. In the former he was one of an executive committee of three, to whom was largely due the success of the League in putting regiments in the field. In the latter he wrote many of the documents which it so extensively circulated. He was also a member of the Finance and Executive Committees and of the Supervisory Committee on Colored Enlistments, which not only aided in raising many regiments of colored troops, but also helped in breaking down the widespread prejudice against the employment of colored soldiers, a prejudice of which the present generation can scarcely believe the existence. When, in 1863, under the Enrolment Act, at every call for troops quotas were assigned to States and districts, with the draft in prospect for non-fulfilment, bounties began to be offered for recruits who would credit themselves to the district paying the bounty, and the recruiting stations became a market to which flocked the agents of all the neighboring counties in Pennsylvania and New Jersey to buy credits. As they were thus filling their quotas at the expense of Philadelphia, it

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became necessary for the city to offer a bounty of $250, and a Board of Bounty Commissioners of five members was created to supervise the payments. To this Board Mayor Alexander Henry appointed Mr. Lea. The work still lagged, however, until Mr. Lea, with a few friends, devised a plan under which a committee was organized in his ward, the twenty-fourth, then comprising all of West Philadelphia, to raise money and pay an additional bounty of $50 to all recruits who should credit themselves to that ward. This was successful, and the other wards, seeing the necessity of exertion to avoid the draft, followed the example, and soon committees in all the wards were actively engaged in raising funds and stimulating recruiting. An impetus was thus given which enabled Philadelphia, until the end of the war, to fill all her quotas, except that in an outlying ward, where, on one of the calls, a draft was made for thirty or forty men. This remarkable record of a great city for effective support of the Government in one of the most momentous struggles in history is due to the initiative of Mr. Lea.

The special work of the Bounty Commission, however, was not to raise recruits, but to see that the city received credit for all the bounties that it paid, which called for accurate knowledge of the regulations for mustering-in and crediting, and brought Mr. Lea into close and constant relations with the office of the Provost Marshal-General in Washington. He conducted personally all the relations between that office and the City of Philadelphia, and he always gladly bore testimony to the uprightness and fidelity to duty of the most abused official of the war, Colonel James B. Fry, the Provost Marshal-General, who was charged with the difficult and trying duty of levying the tax in men on all the loyal States. The complexity of accounts was great, errors were unavoidable, complaints and recriminations incessant. Mr. Lea had frequent collisions with him, but was always sure of his ground, and eventually established every claim that he made; and it was to him a source of gratification that after the war Colonel Fry

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wrote to him that he had intended in his final report to instance Philadelphia as the model of all the cities in filling its quotas, but had omitted this tribute in order not to excite jealousies.

Yet the case of Philadelphia was in some respects a peculiarly difficult one. In the unthinking patriotism of the first two years of the war, men were raised and regiments were organized and sent off without a thought of keeping a record to show how many the city had furnished, nor was any care taken to see that recruits were properly entered to their home cities in the muster rolls. Massachusetts filled one of her boasted negro regiments in the vicinity of Philadelphia. When conscription came with the Enrolment Act, it was necessary for the Provost Marshal-General's office to consolidate all former calls with the existing one, ascertain what States and Congressional Districts were behind, and assess the quotas accordingly. The quota assigned to Philadelphia was greatly larger than had been anticipated, and excited much feeling. Mr. Lea and Mr. E. Spencer Miller, then the chairman of Councils' Committee on Defence and Protection, went to Washington to ascertain the cause and the system, and what remedy could be had. On returning home they procured copies of the muster-rolls of all Philadelphia regiments since the beginning of the war, and these were laid before Mr. Stanton, who promised to "saturate" himself with them. A few days later he telegraphed to Mr. Lea that he had handed the matter over to Mr. Lincoln, with whom an appointment was made, and who, after two interviews, gave the necessary order for the credit to be made to the city. Mr. Lea never forgot the impression made on him by the kindly humanity of the smile which continually played around the rugged features of Mr. Lincoln and effaced all their natural homeliness.

One illustrative incident in this matter of recruiting and bounties may perhaps be worth noting. When the Enrolment Act was passed it became evident that communities which had furnished seamen and marines for the navy were entitled to credit

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for them on an equality with volunteers for the army, and provision was made for "naval credits" from the beginning of the war. For these there were no regimental muster rolls, and the only records were the registers of the individuals sworn in at the rendezvous of the several navy yards. At once there was an active effort to secure the advantage of this. In the city of New York, a mysterious payment of $150,000 secured for it the credit for all enlistments recorded in the Brooklyn Navy Yard. In Boston, the mayor made a contract with a firm of bounty brokers to pay $50 a head for all naval credits, and thus secured all those from the Charlestown Navy Yard, but when a bill for nearly a million of dollars was presented, it was disputed and the courts decided that the mayor had exceeded his powers in making the contract, and thus the city eluded the payment while keeping the credit. In Philadelphia Mr. Lea drew up a blank indicating the name, age, residence, date and term of enlistment, character of service, and vessel to which each man was assigned. These were furnished to all the ward committees, who with the aid of the police made a thorough canvass of all citizens in the naval service, and to verify these, copies were made from the registers at the naval rendezvous of all Philadelphians on the record. At a cost of about $500 this resulted in a credit to the city of some 5500 men to which it was justly entitled. Some time afterward, in an interview with Mr. Lincoln, the President expressed to Mr. Lea his anxiety as to the difficulty of raising men. Under the pending call, he said, Kentucky and Missouri could not be expected to furnish their quotas. There was New York, which had secured all the credits at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, and now Brooklyn and Long Island were clamoring for justice; Boston had done the same, and now Gloucester, Marblehead and Wellfleet and the other fishing towns which had furnished the sailors were demanding credit for them, and these claims must be allowed. Mr. Lea suggested that they should be charged back to New York and Boston, but the President said this was impossible,

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that it would raise trouble that must be avoided. It was a satisfaction to Mr. Lea to know that the President recognized the honesty with which the matter had been managed in Philadelphia.

In this, the only public office that Mr. Lea ever held, he had an opportunity of seeing much of the seamy side of the war, the greed, the selfishness, the political corruption, the demoralization which so often obstructed the resolute patriotism that triumphed at last. He took an active part as a Republican in the struggles which followed the war, writing numerous pamphlets which had a wide circulation, serving on committees of various bodies, and in other ways laboring to make secure the results of the great conflict. He was treasurer of the Union League Campaign Committee in one of the most hotly contested elections of that exciting time. As the heat of partisanship declined, and the questions arising out of the war were settled, the sense of the necessity of independent political action grew constantly stronger, and he became impressed with the extravagance and mismanagement of municipal affairs. When, in 1870, the circumstances connected with the creation of the Public Buildings Commission of Philadelphia aroused civic indignation, Mr. Lea, in conjunction with three or four other earnest men, organized the Municipal Reform Association, of which he served as chairman of the Executive Committee, and for several years as President. This was the first attempt made in any of the great cities to lift municipal affairs above the sphere of partisan politics. In this Association for four or five years he labored assiduously, and though the bitter partisanship arising from the Civil War was yet too strong for the movement to win success at the polls, it did much to create public opinion and succeeded in checking abuses and in accomplishing the special reforms enumerated in its platform. The city was then wretchedly misgoverned and was rapidly drifting into bankruptcy; its downward progress was arrested, and obstacles were removed from the way of further reforms. The path was thus opened for the

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subsequent operations of the Committee of One Hundred in 1880. As an adjunct to the movement, the Reform Club was founded, of which for several years Mr. Lea was President. He was one of the earliest supporters of Civil Service Reform, and took part in various movements designed to elevate the standard of political action. In later years the condition of his health precluded him from taking any part in the work, and subsequently, though he did much political writing, as occasion seemed to call for it, he gradually retired from active participation in these movements, which nevertheless had his sympathy.

When, about 1886, Mr. Dorsheimer introduced in Congress a crude and injudicious bill for international copyright, Mr. Lea, whose experience as both author and publisher enabled him to view the question on all sides, vigorously opposed it. A lively controversy arose; the attention of Senator Chace, of Rhode Island, was attracted to the subject, and he sought to understand it in all its bearings. He called on Mr. Lea, who at his instance undertook to frame a practicable measure which should settle the debate that had existed for nearly half a century. The bill which Mr. Lea drew up was designed to avert industrial opposition to the measure by applying the principle of copyright to the prevention of the importation of foreign editions of books to which an American copyright was granted. Mr. Chace accepted this, introduced the bill in the Senate and devoted his energies to its passage. He desired to call it the Lea bill, but Mr. Lea considered that its chances would be better if it were known as the Chace bill, and as such it was designated. The support of the labor interests was essential to its success, and the Typographical Union insisted, for better security, that a clause requiring manufacture in this country should be inserted. This, although a superfluity, was agreed to, the assistance of the labor organizations was secured, and after an infinite amount of wrangling and discussion, in which the success

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of the measure was more than once imperilled by overzealous advocates of the rights of authors, it finally passed and justified its existence by the stimulus which it gave to American literature, while recognizing the rights of foreign authors and increasing the employment of American labor. Of the value of this, the first International Copyright Law enacted in the United States, the eminent English historian and publicist, W. E. H. Lecky, wrote to Mr. Lea, March 22, 1891: "I congratulate you very sincerely on the part you have taken in a work which will probably have deeper and more far-reaching consequences than the immense majority of the measures which on either side of the Atlantic fill the minds of men."

Mr. Lea died of pneumonia, October 24, 1909, after a brief illness, leaving partly finished a *History of Witchcraft*, on which he had been engaged for some years and until the hour when he was stricken.

A mind so endowed with insight, whence came foresight and wisdom; energized with powerful interests, and kept active for seventy years of study by an amazing industry that spared no effort; such a mind, schooled with scientific method and precision in weighing evidence, was an instrument of wide applicability. An iron will governed an enduring physique derived from a long-lived race, and trained it in perfect control and great abstemiousness to concentrate all its powers on efficiency. Mr. Lea experienced the deep satisfaction of finding that his mind and body so trained were equal to any task he had to do. The qualities that enabled him to acquire profound learning, practical wisdom and dispassionate judgment, characterized him in every relation in life. A loving husband, a wise father, patriot,

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reformer, scholar, and always a man of affairs, he was also a philanthropist, munificent in his gifts to education, charity, public movements and to fellow men needing help. He held that a man should be his own almoner during his lifetime. Wealth he did not seek for itself, but merely as an incident to powers he felt it obligatory to exercise, so directing them as to be constructive and to benefit others as well as himself in the outcome. He was unselfish and of spotless integrity. The ills, griefs and trials of life he bore with fortitude, solacing himself with the sense of duty done and useful work accomplished. Summing all, few men have had cause for deeper satisfaction, the full fruition of a long life, well spent. Seeing humanity in its relation to the Infinite, he possessed the modesty of great wisdom. He trusted truth utterly and faced death calmly. The end was peace.

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